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CIS

CSCE DIGEST

March 1988

PERESTROIKA AND HUMAN RIGHTS

On February 18, the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe examined the impact of perestroika and its related reforms on Soviet human rights policies and the daily lives of Soviet citizens.

The Commission heard testimony from two distinguished individuals: Peter Reddaway, who is the Secretary of the Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies at the Woodrow Wilson Center for Scholars at the Smithsonian; and Vladimir Kozlovsky, who was the first Soviet journalist to emigrate and to gain entry back into the Soviet Union.

What follows are excerpts from their testimony reflecting their views on how perestroika is affecting the human rights situation in the Soviet Union, as well as the effects, the new reforms have on the daily lives of Soviet citizens.

On the success of *perestroika*:

PETER REDDAWAY—"The aim of the general liberalization which has taken place over the past year has been to lighten the atmosphere in society, to remove the oppressive features of that atmosphere which became so notable in the early 1980's, to try to promote a feeling of social justice and try to promote a feeling that all citizens can and should contribute to the implementation of *perestroika*.

"Since October 1987, the radical conservative program of the Gorbachev forces has suffered a setback. These forces have been compelled by moderate reformers, who favor less radical policies, and who apparently command a majority in the oligarchic party leadership, to make a partial retreat. This retreat is not so much on the fundamental principles of *perestroika* but the desirable pace of *perestroika*. While the Gorbachev forces are currently fighting back against these moderate reformers, it may not be possible to assess the trends and balances of forces until after the crucially important party conference scheduled for June.

VLADIMIR KOZLOVSKY—"Among the foes of Gorbachev's reform, I met quite a few intellectuals who said that they would rather Brezhnev stayed in power for 10 more years, then the whole damn place would fall apart on its own.

"Most people welcomed the collapse compared to those who would like to stop the progress of decay. It was just a natural result of many years of economic stagnation. Before their rationale was that we're spending too much money in helping other countries, our foreign aid is bleeding us. I did not hear that rationale this time. Nobody complained, at least in my presence, of the Afghanistan war costing too much. It's just an impression of general malaise, a general sickness of society. Fourteen years ago everybody had some specific explanation, now it's just a general picture of bleakness."

On psychiatric reform:

PETER REDDAWAY—"So the best informed of the psychiatrists I spoke to, told me that the situation (of psychiatric reform) is one of enormous conflict and the outcome is uncertain.

"The politicians have clearly drawn a line which for the moment the reformers are unable to break down, and that line is there is not and has never been any political abuse of psychiatry in the Soviet Union.

"The biggest single innovation is that Soviet citizens will, in the future, have some right of appeal to a court regarding compulsory hospitalizations which they believe not to have any medical foundation. Under this legislation, there will be recourse to the court on the part of relatives after the individuals have been hospitalized. The legislation has apparently already had a salutary effect on psychiatrists in the Soviet Union who are now worried that they must take much greater care, they must be more cautious before they simply do what the police or secret police suggest."

On *glasnost*, *perestroika* and Soviet life:

VLADIMIR KOZLOVSKY—"What I encountered there on the part of the intellectuals was a huge amount of public pessimism and a lot of cynicism. On the part of the ordinary people, there was total indifference and expectations for the worst. The ordinary people are afraid that under *perestroika*, they will be urged to work even harder and will see no improvements in return—no more pay, or maybe even less pay.

"According to dissidents, they did not detect any physical surveillance in the past 1½ years. They do assume their rooms are bugged, they do assume their telephones are bugged. However, the physical surveillance is not there. People feel much freer to express themselves and this is the most striking effect of *perestroika* and *glasnost* that I managed to find.

"So many ordinary Russians I met were quite puzzled as to why they have this *glasnost* business. They indicated to me that, 'we did quite fine in the illusion that we had no prostitution, we were quite sure our medical services were the best in the world, we were quite sure we didn't have any drug abuse, only the West had it, and now you're telling us we have problems. What do we need that for?' So there's a tremendous opposition to *glasnost* on that level of society."

On Criminal Code reform:

PETER REDDAWAY—"And he (Director of the Institute of State Law) gave me the understanding that there already was a completed draft of a revised Criminal Code, and that it would probably be printed in advance of the party conference in June. He said article 190-1 would probably be eliminated, and indicated that article 70 would be revised if not removed. I was also told that the number of crimes which attract the death penalty will be greatly reduced, but the death penalty will not be completely eliminated."

Notice

The quotes contained herein were taken from the transcript of the Commission hearing on February 18, 1988. They have been abridged by the Commission staff for purposes of clarity in this publication.

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ARMENIAN DEMONSTRATIONS RAISE NATIONALISM QUESTIONS FOR GORBACHEV

In February, hundreds of thousands of Armenians took to the streets of Yerevan to express their anger that silence had been the only Kremlin response to a 2-year petition campaign for reunification of the Nagorno-Karabakh region of neighboring Azerbaidzhan with Armenia. The Nagorno-Karabakh, which was made part of the Soviet Republic of Azerbaidzhan in 1923, has a 75 percent Armenian population.

Encouraged by *glasnost*, mass rallies and demonstrations, involving close to 100,000 people, were organized in Armenia and Azerbaidzhan during the month of February. The broad popular base of these activities was unprecedented in the Soviet Union. And in an unusual sign of solidarity, even the local Communist Party leadership in Nagorno-Karabakh supported Armenian requests for return of the territory.

During the February protests, Soviet General Secretary Gorbachev went on local radio in Armenia to ask for calm. He also met with two leading Armenian writers to discuss the situation and to reassure them that he would take public opinion into account. As a result, on February 26, Yerevan protest organizers called off their activities for 1 month to give the Kremlin time to come up with a solution.

On March 21, however, *Pravda* attacked the Armenian campaign as "anti-Socialist" and inspired by foreign opponents of socialism. And 3 days before the 1-month Gorbachev imposed deadline ended, the Soviet Government called on the police and local governments of Armenia and Azerbaidzhen "to take every necessary measure" to prevent popular unrest. A Supreme Soviet resolution strongly condemned "intolerable" efforts by "self-styled organizations" to pressure the Soviet Government into making territorial changes.

By March 25, Soviet troops patrolled the streets of Yerevan to prevent further demonstrations, but on March 28, 50 people protested, without incident, the arrest of Armenian dissident, Paruir Airikyan. Armenian protestors have said that a Yerevan public prosecutor called in about 25 members of the protest committee and asked them to sign confessions admitting to "anti-constitutional" activities. According to reports, some signed and others refused.

More widespread protests continued in Stepanakert, with a strike on March 28 immobilizing the local economy. Despite calls for calm and peaceful protests it has been reported that in the Azerbaidzhan cities of Stepanakert and Sumgait, death tolls range from an official government figure of 32 to an unofficial total of 350.

It is expected that the Kremlin will wait until a later date to announce its decision on Nagorno-Karabakh territorial questions, probably during the next Central Committee meeting. In the meantime, the Government announced a $64 million economic development package for the region. It will also permit greater cultural ties between Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh.

The Nagorno-Karabakh issue is not expected to disappear, even if limited concessions are made. Opponents of *glasnost*, inside the Kremlin and out, can now point to its enormous mobilizing potential for dissident nationalism and other causes. And Western diplomats say that fear of setting a precedent in Armenia is the Kremlin's major motive in rejecting any territorial transfer to Armenia – there are 40 other such disputes in the U.S.S.R.

ROMANIA RENOUNCES MFN TRADE STATUS

In late February Romanian officials informed the U.S. Government that it would no longer accept most-favored-nation trading status subject to the terms of the Jackson-Vanik amendment.

During Romania's annual MFN review period, the U.S. Congress has looked at an increasingly broad range of human rights issues and not just emigration. The Government of Romania has consistently objected to this, arguing that the letter of Jackson-Vanik is exclusively addressed to the issue of emigration and that attempts by Congress to link MFN to additional human rights standards go beyond the scope of the original trade agreement.

Prior to the February announcement, both the House and the Senate had attached language to a trade bill before Congress which would have suspended Romania's MFN status for at least 6 months. Ironically, that language was deleted from both versions of the trade bill just 1 week before Romania announced its decision to unilaterally renounce MFN.

As a result, Romania's MFN status will expire on July 2, 1988. Thereafter, Romanian products arriving in the United States will be subject to higher, non-MFN duties. The Department of Commerce estimates that this alone will cost Romania up to $250 million annually in lost exports. However, this figure may overstate the loss since the MFN and non-MFN tariff rates for some traditional Romanian exports to the United States do not differ substantially. In addition to the higher tariffs, Romania will no longer be eligible for U.S. Government-supported export credits through such programs as the Export-Import Bank.

Romanian President Ceausescu has said its renunciation of MFN will not affect emigration and has asserted that Romania will continue to pursue bi- and multi-lateral relations within the Helsinki process and elsewhere.

SENATORS INTRODUCE HUMAN RIGHTS AMENDMENT TO INF TREATY

Several Senators, led by Cochairman Dennis DeConcini, Commissioners Frank Lautenberg and Alfonse D'Amato and Senator Charles Grassley have introduced an amendment to the INF Treaty reaffirming to the Soviet Union the importance Americans place on respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. The amendment is in the form of a declaration and will not require the two nations to renegotiate the treaty.

The amendment provides for the President to communicate to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, in connection with the exchange of instruments of ratification of the Treaty:

"(1) the declaration that the Senate strongly believes that respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms is an essential factor to ensure the development of friendly relations and cooperation between the United States and the Soviet Union and calls upon the President to use every opportunity to stress the inherent link between respect for human rights and the achievement of lasting peace:

"(2) the understanding that the President will require sustained and demonstrable progress by the Soviet Union in its implementation of the provisions of—

"(A) the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (hereafter referred to as the 'Helsinki Final Act').

"(B) The Madrid Concluding Document of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, done September 9, 1983 (hereafter referred to as the 'Madrid Concluding Document').

"(C) the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (also known as the 'Universal Declaration'), and

"(D) other international human rights agreements to which the Soviet Union is a signatory or party.

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SOVIET ARMY DEFECTORS AND PRISONERS OF WAR FROM AFGHANISTAN

The plight of Soviet soldiers who have been captured by or defected to the Afghan freedom fighters during the almost 9-year occupation of Afghanistan by Soviet forces was the focus of a third Commission hearing on Afghanistan since the Soviets invaded in 1979.

Testifying before the Commission at the March 23 hearing were Senator Gordon Humphrey, the Chair of the Congressional Task Force on Afghanistan; Ms. Ludmilla Thorne, of Freedom House, who has made four trips to Pakistan and Afghanistan during the past 5 years; Sergei Busov, a former Soviet soldier who defected to rebel forces in Afghanistan in 1986; and Igor Kovalchuk, who served in the Soviet Red Army as a machinegunner in Afghanistan before defecting to the mujahedeen.

What follows are excerpts from the hearing:

COMMISSIONER DON RITTER: "Having Soviet soldiers defecting in large numbers and telling their stories to the West will put substantial pressure on the Soviets to withdraw. Short of introducing new or improved weaponry, news of comrade defectors and the availability of asylum in the West beamed to Soviet soldiers in Afghanistan is probably the most effective means of increasing the cost of the Afghan war to the Soviets. Imagine the devastation to Soviet soldiers' morale as their former comrades condemn the Kremlin's actions and atrocities in Afghanistan."

SENATOR GORDON HUMPHREY: "Since the beginning of the war, the United States has assisted in securing asylum for only 11 defectors, 6 in this country and 5 in Canada. Not a single Soviet defector in Afghanistan has been granted asylum in the West since 1986. . . It is a fundamental matter of justice. These young men have made an extraordinary decision that involves personal sacrifice. It is unlikely they can ever go home again. It is unlikely they can ever see their families again. They deserve an active and aggressive and institutionalized effort on the part of our Government to secure the freedom they seek."

LUDMILLA THORNE, Freedom House: "In February, Mikhail Gorbachev announced that he intends to withdraw Soviet troops from Afghanistan by the end of this year. In principle, all of us surely welcome the thought, for it may lead to the end of the Afghan people's immense suffering. But if a withdrawal agreement will be signed, I am terribly afraid that the Red army defectors in Afghanistan, who at the moment there are several hundred of, will fall through the cracks. They may be totally forgotten in the complicated process, or worse still, the Soviet Union may demand that they be repatriated, or they may use the ploy of offering them for exchange, which by the way is something the Soviets have not wanted to do for 8 years."

SERGEI BUSOV: "When I first made my way to the mujahedeen, the first period of time I did nothing. I tried to orient myself. I wanted to get to know what kind of people they were . . . I saw the mujahedeen had very great difficulty in treating their wounded, that they did not really know how to go about it, and it was very difficult for them. So I started to help them to treat their wounded. That was my main help.

"Then when I witnessed the helicopters and the MIGs destroying Afghan villages and men, women, and children were killed before my eyes, my heart screamed out, and I decided myself to pick up arms and help them. After that I took part in approximately 20 combat operations with the mujahedeen . . . Two other Red army defectors and I helped the mujahedeen this way, with the fighting and with medical help. I think this helped the mujahedeen to understand us better. The mujahedeen learned the essence of the Soviet soldier's soul, and they realized that what we were doing in Afghanistan we were not doing on our own volition but because we were ordered to."

Notice

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IGOR KOVALCHUK: (on questioning as to what he would tell Foreign Minister Schevardnadze and President Reagan who were meeting at the time of the hearing) "My message to Mr. Schevardnadze would be: 'If you have a son, why don't you send him to Afghanistan and let you yourself find out what it is like, what it is like for your son to be there and maybe then you will stop killing and maiming your own young men and the Afghan people?'

"And to President Reagan I would say: 'Please help all of those who are still inside Afghanistan. Help them all to gain their freedom."

Senator Gordon Humphrey testifies before the Helsinki Commission on March 23: "Our country has failed miserably in implementing an effective, on-going program to accommodate Soviet defectors." Seated in the front row are Ms. Ludmilla Thorne of Freedom House; Igor Kovalchuk and Sergei Busov, Soviet Army defectors from the war in Afghanistan. They also presented testimony on the need of establishing a means of bringing defecting soldiers from the war in Afghanistan out of captivity and into the United States.

SOVIETS RAID *GLASNOST* OFFICE

The editorial office of the *samizdat* journal *Glasnost*, currently located in a dacha on the outskirts of Moscow, was subject to a raid on March 17, 1988. It was reported that two uniformed policemen and five plainclothes officers entered the reception room to check documents and, according to Russkay Mysl, "to see if you have a Xerox machine." *Glasnost* personnel managed to prevent them from entering the working spaces.

After about 3 hours, the police left. However, pressure by authorities has continued on the 96-year-old landlady of the *Glasnost* dacha for her to withdraw her rental agreement with publisher Sergei Grigoryants. In addition, authorities have forbidden the sale of the dacha to any family willing to rent the premises to *Glasnost*.

DEMONSTRATIONS AND DETENTIONS IN HUNGARY

On March 15, the day when Hungarians traditionally commemorate the 1848 Revolution against Austria, a marched demonstration reportedly took place through the streets of Budapest involving more than 10,000 people. The demonstrators called for democracy and greater respect for fundamental freedoms in Hungary, as well as for the need to work more closely with those in other East European countries who are seeking similar improvements. The demonstration followed a government-organized commemoration and was closely watched but not broken up by Hungarian police.

Two years ago, the police broke-up independent demonstrations, detained several individuals and surrounded approximately 700 demonstrators as they were crossing the Chain Bridge in the center of the city. Last year's commemoration, on the other hand, was noted for the authorities' relative restraint and toleration as dissenting views from those of the Government were openly expressed.

While taking no action to prevent this year's demonstration, Hungarian authorities signalled the week before that they wanted to limit independent activities. On March 8, police raided the apartments of five members of the dissenting opposition and confiscated *samizdat* and typewriters.

Shortly after the March 15 demonstrations, it was announced that eight members of the opposition—including some of those whose apartments were raided the previous week—had been detained, four prior to the demonstrations and four later. Those detained included: Gabor Demszky, Gyorgy Gado, Miklos Haraszti, Tamas Molnar, Jeno Nagy, Robert Palinkas, Sandor Racz and Ottilia Solt. All were subsequently released, apparently without being charged.

The large demonstration and the actions of the authorities reflect an increasingly difficult situation in Hungary. Charles Gati of Union College in New York told the Helsinki Commission at a March 15 hearing on Eastern Europe that, while the atmosphere in Hungary today is not like that during the 1848 Revolution, "it is more tense than it has been at any time since that other, more recent revolution—1956." He attributed this to a combination of political, economic and social factors which act to "widen the gap between the rulers and the ruled."

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN BULGARIA

Last July, President Todor Zhivkov announced moves to establish greater "self-management" in Bulgaria's economic and political system and a significant scaling back of party authority. While there has been some movement towards economic reform, little has been done to encourage greater openness in the media, culture, and public life.

In his plans for economic decentralization and restructuring of state and party machinery, Zhivkov appeared to be going further than the Soviet Union. Last October, concerned with the direction and speed taken, the Soviet Union reportedly cautioned its closest ally to limit the scope of the reforms and to slow their pace. Furthermore, the reforms that had already been introduced did more to create chaos than to increase productivity. There were reports of bureaucratic resistance, production breakdowns and general confusion in the economy. As a result, a special party conference which was convened in January to lay down the new structures under which Bulgaria's economy and society would be run, gave only a general endorsement of restructuring efforts and repeated reaffirmations of the leading role of the party.

In another development, on the eve of the February Balkan Meeting of Foreign Ministers, Bulgaria and Turkey signed a friendship protocol calling for the establishment of two working groups at the deputy ministerial level with the aim of finding solutions to problems in their bilateral relations. One high-level group will address outstanding problems, including humanitarian concerns, and prepare the draft of a joint declaration. A second high-level working group will study cooperation in tourism, trade, technology, research, information and culture.

Observers believe that the signing of this protocol will also set in motion a process to address the plight of the Turkish minority in Bulgaria, totalling nearly 1 million individuals.

In several goodwill gestures prior to the signing of this protocol, Bulgaria allowed 10 ethnic Turkish children to join their relatives in Turkey. According to a Turkish newspaper, the Bulgarian Government also announced that it will allow the Turkish language to be used in a Bulgarian village populated by the Turkish minority.

Also, in late March, the Bulgarian Government granted exit permission to Minka and Bozhidar Statev, two of the seven signers of last year's appeal by Bulgarian human rights activists to the Vienna CSCE Follow-up Meeting. The Helsinki Commission had made several intercessions with Bulgarian authorities on their behalf.

APPEAL MADE TO CSCE DELEGATIONS ON BEHALF OF CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS

On March 21, 438 citizens from the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, including Yugoslavia, submitted an appeal to the Vienna CSCE Follow-up Meeting which calls for the release of those imprisoned for objecting to military service and the offering of alternative service to those who object to serving in the military for reasons of conscience.

A number of factors have contributed to the rise of conscientious objection in Eastern Europe, including dissatisfaction with military service, as well as requiring oaths of allegiance to the Warsaw Pact alliance.

The appeal was significant as it is the first time a large number of Soviet citizens, 77 in all, joined with East European activists in issuing an appeal. Previously, East European activists have joined together to commemorate the 30th anniversary of the 1956 Hungarian Revolution in 1986 and, this year, to protest austerity measures in Romania as well as the imprisoning of opposition members in the German Democratic Republic.

Among the Soviet signers was physicist Andrei Sakharov. Of the East European signers, 60 were Czechoslovak citizens, 15 East German, 191 Hungarian, 21 Polish and 36 Yugoslav.

The appeal also welcomed a U.N. Human Rights Commission Resolution, supported by the United States and other Western countries in March 1987, which recommended that countries with compulsory military service "consider introducing various forms of alternative service for conscientious objectors . . . and . . . refrain from subjecting such persons to imprisonment."

AMBASSADOR ZIMMERMANN TO CSCE DELEGATIONS: "TURNING POINT REACHED, BUT WE HAVE FAILED TO TURN"

The fifth round of the Vienna CSCE Follow-Up Meeting ended on March 25, with U.S. delegation head Warren Zimmermann stating in his closing address that "round five of the Vienna Meeting may be remembered as the round when this meeting reached its turning point but failed to turn."

Herewith are excerpts from the text of Ambassador Zimmermann's speech:

"We have made very little progress during a round which could have given us a critical impulse forward. The reality is that after nearly a year and a half we have not agreed on adequate language in a single major category of human rights or human contacts.

"Outside Vienna, where real people are affected by adherence to—or violation of—Helsinki obligations, gaps between commitment and compliance remain unbridged. In the Soviet Union, promises and assurances made voluntarily, even pridefully, are still unfulfilled. For example, Soviet citizens are still waiting for promised revisions of the Criminal Code, the law on religious association, and emigration restrictions. Recent legislation affecting psychiatric practices has yet to have a noticeable effect on the abuse of psychiatry for political purposes; some 100 Soviet citizens are still detained in psychiatric institutions for political reasons.

"While institutional changes lag, repressive practices continue. Over 300 political prisoners have been released by Soviet authorities, but a similar number are known to be imprisoned, 13 of them Helsinki monitors. About half of these prisoners of conscience, contrary to high-level Soviet assertions, are persons incarcerated for exercising their right to freedom of religion. Emigration levels, particularly for Soviet Jews, have ceased to rise. General Secretary Gorbachev's repeated statements that access to state secrets is the only bar to emigration is not observed in practice. Adults still require permission of relatives to emigrate, despite the expressed hope of Soviet officials that they shall be able to seek redress. The first-degree relative requirement remains a threatening part of current Soviet emigration regulations, though we are of course glad that the decision has been taken to interpret it flexibly and even the secrecy regulations continue to be applied arbitrarily. Just last week I received a letter from a Soviet citizen whose exit permission was refused because his father-in-law had once had access to secrets.

"It is encouraging that few new cases of long-term political imprisonment by authorities in Eastern countries have come to our attention in recent months. However, in the same period there have been short-term arrests, detentions, interrogations, beatings, fines, confiscation of property, expulsions, and limits on travel. In almost every case, official repression is clearly intended to harass, intimidate, and punish persons seeking to exercise their rights to freedom of expression and assembly.

"—In Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia a combination of these repressive tactics was used in February to interfere with the commemoration of important national anniversaries. In Moscow and Leningrad, authorities have broken up numerous demonstrations on behalf of free emigration and other human rights. Just last Sunday 18 Crimean Tatars were detained for assembling to demand the rights deprived them by Stalin.

"—In the German Democratic Republic, we have recently seen a dramatic and depressing regression in the official approach to those seeking greater human and religious rights within their country.

"—In Czechoslovakia, less than 3 weeks ago, some 20 prominent citizens—including signers of Charter 77 and religious and cultural activists—were arrested and thus prevented from attending a British Embassy reception, a Prague church service, and a commemoration of the birth of Tomas Masaryk, the founder of Czechoslovakia.

"—Since we welcomed a large-scale amnesty of Polish political prisoners in 1986, short-term detention of Solidarity leaders and other political activists has become commonplace.

"—Last week, Hungarian authorities, in the first arrests of dissidents in 15 years, temporarily detained eight human rights activists to prevent them from participating in an unofficial observance of the Hungarian uprising of March 15, 1848.

"—In Bulgaria, we have seen no significant change in the sorrowful way the human, religious, and minority rights of many citizens are abused.

"—And in Romania, a grim economic situation and the authorities' disregard for basic human rights combine to impose an especially severe hardship on the population.

"This recitation does not deny the improvements that have taken place in several of the countries named. But the summary of events—all occurring during the 2 months of this Vienna round—shows how long a road remains to be traveled. There must be visibly greater progress along that road before the Vienna Meeting can end successfully.

"Here in Vienna, major issues await resolution—issues of human rights and fundamental freedoms, issues affecting the security of our citizens. The United States has been ready to assist in resolving these issues since the very beginning. So have other delegations from all groupings. The next round could be our last but only if those who have been stalling, and those who have been supporting those who have been stalling, get down to serious business.

"When we return in 3 weeks, the pace of work must increase considerably if the next round is to be decisive. For the United States, it is unimaginable to conclude without a result which goes well beyond the commitments of Helsinki and Madrid and which gives equal weight to military security and human rights. It is our strong preference to secure such a result during the next round, but it is our equally strong commitment to stay as long as is required to secure it. A minimal or one-sided conclusion to the Vienna Meeting would set back the cause of both security and human rights and could damage the Helsinki process irreparably. The alternative to such a disaster is not only preferable; it is available. The United States will continue to work for it."

INF TREATY continued from page 2

including provisions relating to—

"(i) the freedom of thought, conscience, religion, and belief, without regard to race, sex, language, religion, or national origin,

"(ii) the recognition and respect for the rights of individuals, including those belonging to national minorities, to enjoyment and practice of their cultures, heritage, history, and national consciousness.

"(iii) the right of freedom of movement for individuals within the Soviet Union and the right to leave the Soviet Union, without arbitrary and capricious barriers, and

"(iv) the right of individuals to know and act upon their rights and duties in these agreements; and

"(3) the understanding that the United States, through the Helsinki process, will expect full compliance, as evidenced by specific action, by the Soviet Union with its commitments in the field of human rights and fundamental freedoms and will seek to strengthen these commitments through review meetings and a balanced number of follow-up activities which will advance verifiable implementation of the human rights provisions of the Helsinki Final Act and the Madrid Concluding Document".

In introducing the amendment, Cochairman DeConcini stated that "true progress in the field of arms control will not be achieved until the leadership in the Kremlin begins to honor the rights of those it claims to protect, its citizens. The continued violation of their human rights makes a mockery of the Soviet Union's sincerity as a Helsinki participant and a signatory to the International Covenants on Human Rights . . . I hope we can respond with confidence that we would not accept a definition of peace which excluded a demonstrated commitment to individual freedom."

POLES RE-EXAMINE HISTORY

Two recent events have focused attention once again on Poland's troubled past. In the first, 59 Polish intellectuals have signed a letter calling for an open discussion of the World War II Katyn Forest Massacre.

In the early part of WWII, a mass grave of over 4,000 Polish officers was discovered by Nazis in the Katyn Forest near Smolensk. The Nazis claimed that the Polish officers, each of whom had a bullet in the back of the head, had been executed by the Soviets. An investigation conducted during the war by the International Red Cross, as well as subsequent investigations by Western historians, concluded that the evidence pointed to Soviet involvement in the matter. Since the war, however, both Polish and Soviet authorities have claimed this as a Nazi atrocity.

The letter by the Poles was addressed to a diverse group of Soviet intellectuals and asks for a public discussion as to the exact cause of the Polish officers deaths. The letter comes after public remarks were made by Ryszard Bender, an independent member of parliament, who called for an open discussion of the Katyn Massacre questioning, "Do we have *glasnost*, or not?" The release of the letter was also timed to a meeting of a joint Polish-Soviet Commission tasked with filling alleged "blank spots" in the history of Polish-Soviet relations.

Meanwhile, the Polish Party newspaper *Trybuna Luda* has acknowledged, for the first time, that an anti-Semitic purge took place in Poland in 1968 at the hands of a Communist Party faction. The article has been criticized for not going far enough in naming the names of those chiefly responsible. In particular, the role of the party leadership in the purge is conspicuous by its absence. In contrast, several Western newspapers have noted that in 1967 and 1968—when General Jaruzelski was a political chief of the army and then Minister of Defense—341 army officers were purged.

On March 1, Polish television aired an interesting analysis of the 1968 events. According to this analysis, the problems of 1968 stemmed from the failure of the Polish Government, under the leadership of Wladyslaw Gomulka, to remain true to the economic and socio-political reforms known as the "Polish October." Gomulka was brought to power in 1956 riding the wave of the Polish October, but, once in place, failed to implement genuine and lasting reforms.

TURKISH GOVERNMENT ENACTS PRISON REFORMS

On February 18, Turkish Prime Minister Turgut Ozal announced a series of prison reforms in an apparent response to protests and a 10-day hunger strike at Diyarbakir Military Prison in southeastern Turkey. Turkish prison conditions have long been the focus of internal and external criticism. The latest reforms are viewed generally as a significant step within a series taken by the Government in demonstrating its commitment to improving human rights practices.

A number of recent events appear to have moved the Turkish authorities to act on the demands of the 2,000 detainees. In a statement before officials of the Association of Inmate Families, the Turkish Justice Minister expressed a need to adhere to the Council of Europe and the United Nations agreements against torture, both signed by Turkey in January.

The reforms, as reported in the Turkish press, included allowing prisoners to "converse freely" with family members in a supervised hall (the ability to speak Kurdish with their visitors); and receiving visitors at any hour during the day with a time of visitation increase from one-half hour to one hour.

These actions, as well as decisions to allow prisoners to talk with lawyers in private, and elect mediators to handle disputes with prison authorities, are hailed by observers as the most noteworthy of the reforms.

GPO: 1988 83-855 (M)

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COMMISSION ON SECURITY
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IN EUROPE
Congress of the United States
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515

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